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ABSTRACT

The norms of behavior and the expectations of a child's primary groupings were examined to determine if they were consistent with those of the larger, more impersonal society. If the norms and expectations were consistent, then primary socialization was likely to be important in shaping the child's sense of nationality. Thus, the school could be viewed as an extension of the family in achieving that objective, or it could be commissioned by society to resocialize him. This filter-effect theory of schooling was examined by means of a survey conducted in St. Lucia, a small island country of about 100,000 inhabitants in the West Indies. Data was collected from 1,448 pupils whose ages ranged from 13-14. The survey focused on 3 main questions: (1) What national type best represented the way of life the pupil would most like to follow? (2) What language would the pupil most like to speak well? (3) Which nationality did the pupil value most? The findings indicated that rural pupils exhibited a greater preference for St. Lucian life ways, languages, and nationality in comparison to their more urban peers; and these relationships generally endured across paternal, occupational, and educational levels. [Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of original document] (HBC)

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SENSE OF NATIONALITY AMONG SCHOOLCHILDREN: 'Center' - 'Periphery' Differences with Special Reference to St. Lucia, West Indies"

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A paper prepared for presentation at the
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SENSE OF NATIONALITY
AMONG SCHOOLCHILDREN:
A Filter-Effect Theory
of Schooling

The literature on political socialization indicates that societies tend to use a variety of channels to teach socially valued political symbols, attitudes, and behavior (Converse and Dupeux, 1962; Davies, 1965; Eisenstadt, 1956; Elkin, 1960; Hess and Torney, 1967; Hyman, 1959; Karlsson, 1958; Lane, 1959; Langton, 1965; R. Levine, 1963; Lynn and Sawrey, 1959; McClosky and Dahlgren, 1959; Parsons, 1959; Williams, 1961). These may be informal, as in the application of social sanctions against deviants. Or they may be formal, as in the teaching of civics in school. The use of schools to teach politically appropriate allegiances and behavior reflects not only deliberation in the choice of method, but also a certain agreement as to the norms to be imparted. Children, in other words, are not left to "arrive" at an appropriate perspective; political education implies limits on what constitutes acceptable political knowledge.

Before entering school, a child becomes conscious of the political world through various societal groupings with which he learns to relate. Within these groupings, he learns to accept certain predispositions toward authority and limits of submissiveness and dominance. Somewhat later in his development he learns also to distinguish between membership in primary groups and in other groups, whose members are not in intimate and frequent contact.

How a child learns a sense of nationality depends in part on whether the norms of behavior and expectations of his primary groupings are consistent with those of the larger, more impersonal society (R. LeVine, 1960a). If these are consistent, primary socialization is likely to be important in shaping a child's sense of nationality (D. Levine, 1965), and the school may

be viewed as an extension of the family in achieving that objective. If, however, there is incongruity between norms and values of the larger society and those which the child learns in his primary groupings, the child may find it difficult to generalize from the social values taught him by his family or tribe to political objects and symbols. In such instances the school may be commissioned by society to resocialize him. This may occur, for example, when the child is an immigrant to a new country, if he belongs to a minority group, or when a society undergoes abrupt social change.

In transitional societies, especially when village life is far removed from the national culture, discontinuities between the political values of family and local community on the one hand and of nation on the other are likely to arise with an influx of schools (see Part Four of Kazamias and Epstein, 1968). The school as an agent of the larger society may force a wedge between home and child by reorienting the child to national political realities which may be incongruous with the values of the local community. This resocialization process may be critical to the life of a country struggling to unify diverse subcultures. In this paper we examine school-children's sense of nationality in transitional societies as a reflection of schools' effectiveness in resocialization.

Stimulus Generalization

To explain the relative absence of class structure in "stateless" societies, R. LeVine (1960b) suggests that cultural homogeneity leads to generalization of family authority patterns, while cultural heterogeneity hinders such generalization. That is, with more subcultural variation it should be more difficult for the actors in stateless political systems, who are homogeneous with respect to family background, to use family roles as a guide to political behavior and allegiances. Relying on the theory of stimulus generalization, which posits that a conditioned response will be

elicited not only by the stimulus used in conditioning but also by a variety of similar stimuli (see Murdock, 1949; Hull, 1950), LeVine reasons that the fewer the number of stimulus elements which the political environment and family environment have in common, the lesser the degree to which individuals will extend their family response patterns to the political sphere of action. As applied to education, stimulus generalization would imply that the more ethnically "pure" the pupils, the less likely schools would be to experience success in resocializing them.

Some support for this theory is shown by Nash (1965), who reports that village schools in Mexico and Guatemala, which are charged with changing values and represent an extension of national society, and which have very few cultural characteristics in common with the village, are rather ineffectual, in contrast to schools in Burma, where education is an integral part of village culture and represents an extension of family values and orientation. Indeed, Nash suggests that because of incongruities between village culture and (national) school culture, education becomes a force for social change only when the process of social change is well underway, which is to say when there are sufficient stimulus elements already held in common by the family and the larger society. Nevertheless, more recent findings, as indicated below, show that stimulus generalization does not adequately explain attitudinal differences among schoolchildren.

A Filter-Effect Theory of Schooling

Despite the evidence to suggest that schools will more effectively resocialize youths who are conditioned to respond to the kind of stimuli embodied in education, findings reported by Epstein tend to put into question the theory of stimulus generalization to explain schoolchildren's sense of nationality. In exploratory studies conducted in Peru and Puerto Rico, Epstein finds that pupils whose families have fewer stimulus elements in common with

the larger society actually displayed more amenability to acculturation. In the case of Peru highland schoolchildren living in rural, more ethnically pure Indian areas were on the whole significantly more favorably disposed toward acceptance of Mestizo (Europeanized) culture than urban pupils (1971). In regard to Puerto Rico, Epstein reports that public-school children -- who were less exposed outside the school to North American patterns of behavior -- were more amenable to Americanization than private-school pupils (1967). It would appear from these findings that the cultural gap between school and community is not sufficient to explain the impact of education on political orientation.

To explain these surprising findings, Epstein (1971) theorizes that the school tends to filter out the "undesirable" aspects of national life and presents a largely favorable picture of the dominant culture. The school also "controls" the nature of schoolchildren's exposure to the dominant culture more at the periphery (i.e., in remote, rural or technologically primitive areas) than at the center, because at the periphery it is more frequently and to a greater degree the principal representation of the dominant society. Although virtually all schools may attempt to foster a favorable view of the government and nation, schools at the periphery -- being located where sources of conflicting knowledge about the realities of national life are relatively absent -- have the effect of turning favorable images of national life into myths which are believed. This theory holds that, ceterus paribus, schoolchildren who are the least assimilated into the national, social, and political mainstream are the most susceptible to patriotic appeals and behavior.

In view of the tentative nature of the previously reported findings, the limitations of the filter-effect theory to account for schoolchildren's sense of culture and nationality are largely unknown. For example, that theory may not hold when the culture of home and community at the periphery are

unusually strong and sufficient to offset the acculturating and nationalizing influence of schools. Or the influence of the school may be eroded by an ambivalence in national goals, as when a country is in a state of indecision or ambiguity over its political status. Moreover, there is as yet an absence of large-scale cross-national findings to support the theory.

To shed some additional light on the filter-effect of schools, the studies in Puerto Rico and Peru were replicated in St. Lucia, a small island country of about 100,000 inhabitants in the West Indies. That island, despite having gained recently its independence from Britain, is at the crossroads of determining its political future. Presently its status is being affected by countervailing forces: a newly evolved sense of independence, ties as a member of the British Commonwealth, and a desire to enter into a federation of West Indian states. Inasmuch as St. Lucia lacks clearly defined national goals it offers a favorable setting to test the resiliency of the filter-effect theory. The absence of clear goals lessens the capacity of political education at the periphery to inculcate myths about the verities of government and nation. It was felt that if the findings for St. Lucia were compared with those for Peru and Puerto Rico despite this property, the filter-effect theory should provide an important conceptual framework for examining the relationship between education and national identity. Consistent with that theory we hypothesized that schoolchildren at the periphery in St. Lucia would display generally a stronger sense of nationality than pupils at the center. Before reporting the findings, however, a brief historical background will be necessary to shed light on the unique character of St. Lucia's political status.

The Political Status of St. Lucia

For a small island, St. Lucia has experienced historically more than its share of political turmoil, and its people have suffered through the

vicissitudes of both colonialism and decolonialism. Although the first European power to declare sovereignty over it was Spain in 1511, Englishmen in 1605 were the first known settlers. Because, however, of the hostility displayed by the resident Carib Indians, those settlers soon left, and the island was not occupied permanently by Europeans until the middle of the 17th century. By that time both the English and French cast hungry eyes on the fertile and strategically located island, and thereupon began more than a century and a half of war and intrigue over its possession. As the island became colonized, slavery was instituted to work the thriving sugar plantations. St. Lucia was finally ceded to Britain by the Treaty of Paris in 1814, and in 1834 slavery was legally abolished (Jesse, 1964).

For the first two and a half decades under Britain, St. Lucia was treated as a separate administrative unit and its governor was directly responsible to the Colonial Office. In 1838, however, St. Lucia was annexed to the Government of the Windward Islands, then consisting of Barbados, St. Vincent, and Tobago, and remained in that status for about 120 years, until in 1960 it again became a separate unit. In 1967, the island gained its independence and present status as Associated State in the Commonwealth, an arrangement allowing for complete autonomy except in the areas of defense and foreign relations.

St. Lucia's abiding ties to its colonial heritage can be seen in a variety of ways. Although France gave up claim to the island over 150 years ago, about 93 per cent of the St. Lucian population is Roman Catholic and continues to be served by a large number of French clergy. Attendant with religious conditions is the fact that although English is the island's official language, and the only one permitted as the medium of instruction

in the schools, French Creole (commonly referred to as "Patois") is the predominant language of people in the villages and countryside. By the same token, St. Lucia's long tenure as a confederate West Indian state continues to be felt. At about the time that St. Lucia reverted back to its status as a separate colonial unit, slightly over a decade ago, it entered into a loose West Indian federation with several other British islands, an association that collapsed in 1962. That arrangement was replaced in 1968 by an economic amalgamation known as the Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA). Finally, on November 1, 1971, the heads of government of six Commonwealth countries -- including St. Lucia -- pledged their latest and heretofore strongest commitment to unity: the creation of a completely new and sovereign West Indian state by 1973.

In addition to political and economic associations, St. Lucia has been bound to its sister islands in other respects. Not the least important is that in the sphere of education most of the island's school readers and social studies textbooks come from Jamaica, where schoolbooks are produced to serve the entire British West Indies, and the most capable teachers and administrators frequently are trained at the University of the West Indies in that island. Not surprisingly, the outlook of the textbooks, and plausibly the orientation of the teachers, tends to be West Indian.

All this is not to say that St. Lucia lacks a sense of independence, or that decolonialism has meant a severance with British ways. St. Lucia has had several years to reconcile a desire to be rid of a white, European-dominated social structure with its retention of a language, customs, habits, and government which are largely British in character. Indeed, even to the most casual observer the tempo and style of life in St. Lucia appear

strikingly different from patterns in, say, Martinique, its French sister island to the North.

Even so, displays of hostility by St. Lucians toward one or another aspect of their heritage are not uncommon; much animosity derives from the character of the island's social structure, a colonial legacy that allows for a handful of whites to own the best agricultural lands, the "coloured" and East Indians to be pre-eminent in business, the professions, civil service, and somewhat in agriculture, and the blacks -- who constitute about 70 per cent of the population -- to be at the bottom, supplying most of the manual labor in the economy (Crowley, 1958). On the very eve of independence, the present Prime Minister, John Compton, announced:

> The colour of our skins is against us, and [in reference to Britain] a Government, even one that professes democracy, is pleased to legislate and to propound the doctrine of second class citizenship for people of another colour (quoted by Ellis, February 28, 1967).

It is, therefore, to an environment of variable political directions that we now turn our attention. Our study focuses on St. Lucian schoolchildren's sense of nationality in 1968, the data being gathered slightly more than one year after the island acquired its independence from Britain, and presumably at a time when nationalistic feelings were strong.

Procedure

In order to examine the filter-effect theory in St. Lucia, a survey was conducted of all children attending grades Standard VI and Form II, containing mostly 13-14 year olds. Two variables were used to distinguish

children at the periphery from those at the center: grade and location. The term "grade" as used here does not refer to classification by age cohort. Standard VI and Form II both represent the ninth year of formal education, and so the children in those grades are equivalent in age and amount of prior schooling. Standard VI is found in most primary schools and is usually the terminal year for children in the senior cycle of the primary school. Form II is the second grade of the secondary level and represents an early stage in the training of youths pursuing an advanced program. Thus, there is a priori reason to believe that students in Standard VI and Form II differ systematically in their motivations, aspirations, and family backgrounds, so that Standard VI pupils may be appropriately viewed to be at the periphery and Form II children at the center of national life. It is to be noted, however, that the pupils in both grades have been well exposed by the school to European culture, and ordinarily have learned enough English to communicate easily in that language. Noteworthy also are earlier reports which indicate that by age 13 or 14 children generally tend to arrive at a political viewpoint not fundamentally different from the perspective of mature adults (Adelson and O'Neil, 1966; Greenstein, 1960; Jahoda, 1963).

Location of school was used as a proxy for a pupil's residence and was categorized as follows: Castries (the capital and principal city), other urban, and rural. Rather than distinguishing simply between urban and rural areas, these categories take account of the importance of Castries as the island's social and economic center; the socioeconomic distinctiveness of that city is displayed, for example, by the fact that in Castries 88 per cent of the male population aged 15 years and over went further in school than Standard V, and 13 per cent of the male working

population held non-manual jobs, in contrast to only 26 per cent who finished higher in school than Standard V and eight per cent who filled non-manual positions in the total male population, including Castries (St. Lucia Population Census, Vol. II, 1960: 8B-1, 18-1, and 19-1).

Data on father's occupation and education, as well as for attitudinal variables were derived from a questionnaire. Occupational classifications were based on such considerations as professional standing, skill level, and ownership of property. Inasmuch as the majority of St. Lucians hold unskilled or menial jobs, it was difficult to make accurate distinctions in status among most of them. Hence, it was decided to place pupils whose fathers have distinctively "better" jobs -- representing 14 per cent of the fathers -- in the "High" category. Many of the fathers categorized as having "High" or "Middle" occupations and living in rural areas are landowners. Occupation of head of household was used as a proxy for the father's occupation when the father was absent and his occupation unknown.

The survey focused on three main questions: what national type best represents the way of life the pupil would most like to follow, the language the pupil would most like to speak well, and which nationality the pupil values most. The first question relates to the child's generalized image of national type. That is, he might strongly admire, for example, North Americans' culture and way of life more than his own, despite having a strong St. Lucian identity. The question of identity is considered in the third question; here the pupil was instructed to indicate which nationality -- as a subject of the British Commonwealth, West Indian, or St. Lucian -- he values most. The second question, on language, is

germane because of the often observed relationship between linguistic identity and cultural or national identity (Almond and Verba, 1963; Bidwell, 1962; Deutsh, 1942; Diebold, 1961; Dozier, 1956; Fisher, 1958; Fishman, 1965; Fullers, 1961; Geertz, 1963; Herman, 1961; Hertzler, 1965; Hunt, 1966; Marriott, 1963; Rubin, 1963; Sapir, 1956). Although creolized languages are common in the West Indies, Patois is unique in St. Lucia because it is a French creole spoken in a British island (see Le Page, 1968; Reinicke, 1938; Taylor, 1961). To choose Patois as the language one aspires most to speak well would seem to reflect a sense of uniqueness as a St. Lucian, especially in view of the school's emphasis on English and the obvious social and economic benefits that result in knowing that language. Pupils who select French, on the other hand, plausibly are influenced by the not inconspicuous French clerical contingent on the island, the presence of which stands as a reminder of St. Lucia's French heritage and represents a counterweight to British culture. English is the official language and the most likely to be chosen if a child is directed toward enhancing his station in life and not particularly bothered by the colonial shadow it casts.[1]

The total population of students attending Standard VI and Form II consisted of 1463 pupils in 45 schools, out of which 1448 pupils yielded usable data.[2] Because there existed minimal information on variations in social characteristics of children living at the periphery, it was decided to minimize sampling bias by surveying the entire population of pupils in those grades. We turn now to the results of the study.

[1]To insure a clear understanding of the questionnaire, and so as not to suggest a bias in favor of English as against Patois, the survey instrument was explained in both English and Patois by a bilingual assistant.

[2]The pupils surveyed constitute approximately 82 per cent of the children who were enrolled in Standard VI and Form II.

Findings

Before examining our hypothesis that schoolchildren at the periphery would display a stronger sense of nationality than pupils at the center, let us consider the overall views of St. Lucian schoolchildren. Tables 1-3 show the overall responses to the three questions relating to nationality. These tables indicate that most schoolchildren favor their St. Lucian nationality and way of life, and a large majority displayed preference for English over other languages. It is interesting also that only about two per cent showed a preference for Patois.

[Tables 1, 2, and 3 about here.]

In order to find out why the pupils responded as they did, they were asked to explain their choices. The results indicate that different nationality types represent very different values. For example, over 75 per cent of the children favoring the St. Lucian way of life gave reasons relating to birth and satisfaction with one's circumstance as governing their selection, whereas the overwhelming majority of the pupils favoring the way of life of Englishmen, Frenchmen, or North Americans tended to associate those types with better education or a superior civilization.

The reasons given for language preference, however, were more varied. About half the pupils who chose Patois gave being accustomed to the language as their reason, while one-fifth gave prevalence as the reason for their response. Almost two-thirds of the children choosing French indicated that knowing that language well would facilitate increased communication. And, in regard to English, almost one-third of the pupils preferring that language chose prevalence of English as their

principal reason; 15 per cent chose it because of their being accustomed to it, and about an equal percentage gave as their reason its capacity to facilitate increased communication.

The reasons given for preference of nationality are perhaps the most interesting. About 20 per cent of pupils choosing British and West Indian nationality, and 14 per cent selecting St. Lucian nationality, indicated affinity for the people and culture as the reason for their choice. The most important differences, however, were in regard to birth and national feeling on the one hand, and power and predominance on the other hand. Pupils who placed most value on St. Lucian or West Indian nationality were much more prone to indicate reasons associated with the former; those who favored the status of British subject tended more to give reasons associated with the latter.

We are now in a position to focus on our hypothesis that Standard VI pupils and pupils in more rural schools would display a stronger sense of St. Lucian nationality. In testing our hypothesis we held social class constant, using occupational status as a proxy for that variable. We controlled also for father's education, but these relationships followed the same general pattern as for father's occupation, and we felt no need to show them here.

In viewing the results first in regard to differences between Form II and Standard VI schoolchildren (Tables 4-6), and then with respect to differences in location of school (Tables 7-9), our hypothesis appears to be supported by the findings. Table four shows that Standard VI pupils have a significantly more favorable image of St. Lucian life ways than do Form II schoolchildren, and that this difference remains consistent among all three occupational groupings. The findings on attitudes toward language, however, were less conclusive. Table 5 shows that the Standard VI pupils

were overall more favorably disposed toward English and Patois -- the languages of St. Lucia -- and less favorable toward French, although the differences were not significant for the High and Middle occupational categories. Consistent with these findings are the figures in Table 6, which show overall that pupils in Standard VI more than Form II schoolchildren valued their St. Lucian nationality and disvalued their status as subjects of the British Commonwealth; there appear to be negligible differences in views of West Indian nationality. The results were significant, however, only for the overall table, and not for any of the occupational groupings.

[Tables 4, 5, and 6 about here.]

Turning now to location as a plausibly binding influence in shaping pupils' sense of nationality, we find a similar pattern emerging. The results here, however, are more conclusive. Table 7 shows that the St. Lucian's way of life is more favorably viewed the more rural the location, and that this relationship is rather constant among the three occupational groupings. Also noteworthy is that attitudes toward the North American's way of life appear more positive the more urban the location of school. Significantly, of the alternatives presented North American lifeways are the least indigenous to St. Lucia. In regard to language preference, Table 8 shows overall that the more rural the pupils the more favorable they were toward English and Patois and the less favorable they were toward French, and that this relationship held more or less constant for each of the occupational categories. Finally, Table 9 indicates that the more rural the location of school the more valued overall was pupils' St. Lucian nationality and the less valued their

identity as a West Indian or British subject, and that this relationship was significant for the Middle and Low occupational categories, though not for the High occupational grouping.

[Tables 7, 8, and 9 about here.]

In sum, the findings tend generally to confirm our hypothesis that schoolchildren at the periphery are likely to display a stronger sense of nationality than schoolchildren at the center. Standard VI and rural pupils tended generally to show preference for St. Lucian life ways, languages, and nationality in comparison to their Form II and more urban peers, and these relationships generally endured across paternal occupational and educational levels.

Conclusion

We suggested earlier that support for the filter-effect theory would be inconsistent with stimulus generalization as a predictor of differences in resocialization of children at the periphery. In retrospect, however, that view warrants qualification. Inasmuch as the present study focuses on sense of nationality, and not actual acculturation, it is plausible that stimulus generalization and the school as a filter account for different effects, and that the two theories are not incompatible after all.

We recall here that the theory of stimulus generalization refers to generalization of family cultural patterns as influencing acculturation including the behavior of schoolchildren, but that the filter-effect theory relates to the nature of exposure pupils have of the national culture as a result of the school's (and pupils') geographical and cultural location. Our a priori assumption was that a relationship exists between being prone to acculturate, as displayed by an individual's favorability toward

the national culture, and actually adopting the traits of the culture at the center. Yet that assumption remains untested; being amenable to acculturation may contribute minimally or not at all to actual acculturation, especially if sociocultural obstacles, such as racial or ethnic discrimination, exist to bar the way. If stimulus generalization accounts for differences in behavioral modification, and the filter effect of schools accounts for differences in propensity to change behavior, they both may be valid if propensity toward behavioral change does not result in actual change in behavior. In other words, it is plausible that the studies on stimulus generalization and on the filter effect of schooling may have focused on different and unrelated influences.

If, indeed, both theories were found to be correct, the implications could be important. For one thing, it might suggest that schoolchildren who are least able to acculturate -- that is, those at the periphery and consequently from families having few stimulus elements in common with the national culture -- are also the most likely to internalize idealized myths about the national culture and hence to want to acculturate. Such a condition could be extremely perilous psychologically for individuals and politically for society. The psychological danger is in the frustration that could arise from "teaching" the children least able to acculturate to aspire to be in the national mainstream. The danger politically lies in the potential creation of discontented cadres of culturally peripheral individuals who strive for but are unable to achieve the rewards of the larger society. Indeed, these dangers already may have become widespread realities, and may account for much of the instability experienced by many developing nations. Needless to say, extensive research remains to be done on both the stimulus generalization and filter-effect theories and their interrelationship.

TABLE 1

National Type Representing Way of Life Pupil Would Most Like to Follow (Percentages)[a]	
Englishman	28.9
Frenchman	3.6
North American	12.8
St. Lucian	53.2
Other	1.5
Total	100.0

[a] For clarity in presentation the response categories are not shown in the order given in the questionnaire. Pupils were instructed to choose the one alternative that best describes their feelings.

TABLE 2

Language Pupil Would Most Like to Speak Well (Percentages)[a]

English	82.9
French	12.9
Patois	1.9
Other	2.3
Total	100.0

[a] For clarity in presentation the response categories are not shown in the order given in the questionnaire. Pupils were instructed to choose the one alternative that best describes their feelings.

TABLE 3

Nationality Pupil Values Most (Percentages)[a]	
British subject	13.8
West Indian	19.1
St. Lucian	62.3
Other	4.8
Total	100.0

[a] For clarity in presentation the response categories are not shown in the order given in the questionnaire. Pupils were instructed to choose the one alternative that best describes their feelings.

TABLE 4

National Type Representing Way of Life
Pupil Would Most Like to Follow,
By Grade and Father's Occupation (Percentages)

High Occupation

National Type[a]	E	F	N	S	O	T	(n)
Form II	22.0	10.0	32.0	36.0	0.0	100.0	(50)
Standard VI	25.0	2.0	14.9	56.8	1.3	100.0	(148)

d.f. = 4, X^2 = 16.05
P < .01
C = .27

Middle Occupation

National Type[a]	E	F	N	S	O	T	(n)
Form II	35.5	4.5	20.0	39.1	0.9	100.0	(110)
Standard VI	32.5	3.3	10.8	52.8	0.7	100.1	(705)

d.f. = 4, X^2 = 10.89
P < .05
C = .11

Low Occupation

National Type[a]	E	F	N	S	O	T	(n)
Form II	30.2	7.0	20.9	41.9	0.0	100.0	(43)
Standard VI	25.2	3.4	10.7	59.7	1.0	100.0	(298)

d.f. = 4, X^2 = 7.67
P < .05
C = .15

Total

National Type[a]	E	F	N	S	O	T	(N)
Form II	29.6	7.1	22.4	40.2	0.7	100.0	(203)
Standard VI	28.8	2.9	11.1	55.6	1.6	100.0	(1151)

d.f. = 4, X^2 = 36.10
P < .001
C = .16

[a] E = Englishman, F = Frenchman, N = North American, S = St. Lucian, O = Other, and T = Total.

TABLE 5

Language Pupil Would Most Like to Speak Well,
By Grade and Father's Occupation (Percentages)

High Occupation

Language Preferred	English	French	Patois	Total	(n)
Form II	77.5	20.4	2.0	99.9	(49)
Standard VI	82.4	16.9	0.7	100.0	(148)

d.f.= 2, X^2= 1.03
NS
C = .07

Middle Occupation

Language Preferred	English	French	Patois	Total	(n)
Form II	81.8	16.4	1.8	100.0	(110)
Standard VI	87.9	10.1	2.0	100.0	(695)

d.f.= 2, X^2= 4.06
NS
C = .07

Low Occupation

Language Preferred	English	French	Patois	Total	(n)
Form II	67.4	32.6	0.0	100.0	(43)
Standard VI	86.2	11.4	2.3	99.9	(298)

d.f.= 2, X^2= 15.71
P < .001
C = .21

Total

Language Preferred	English	French	Patois	Total	(N)
Form II	76.9	21.7	1.4	100.0	(202)
Standard VI	86.3	11.6	2.1	100.0	(1141)

d.f.= 2, X^2= 16.80
P < .001
C = .11

TABLE 6

Nationality Pupil Values Most,
By Grade and Father's Occupation (Percentages)

High Occupation

Nationality Most Valued	British	West Indian	St. Lucian	Total	(n)
Form II	28.0	28.0	44.0	100.0	(50)
Standard VI	16.0	27.8	56.2	100.0	(144)

d.f.= 2, X^2= 3.86
NS
C = .14

Middle Occupation

Nationality Most Valued	British	West Indian	St. Lucian	Total	(n)
Form II	15.7	20.6	63.7	100.0	(102)
Standard VI	12.8	18.8	68.4	100.0	(681)

d.f.= 2, X^2= 1.01
NS
C = .03

Low Occupation

Nationality Most Valued	British	West Indian	St. Lucian	Total	(n)
Form II	21.9	21.9	56.1	99.9	(41)
Standard VI	13.4	16.5	70.1	100.0	(291)

d.f.= 2, X^2= 2.75
NS
C = .09

Total

Nationality Most Valued	British	West Indian	St. Lucian	Total	(N)
Form II	20.4	22.2	57.4	100.0	(193)
Standard VI	13.2	20.0	66.8	100.0	(1116)

d.f.= 2, X^2= 9.62
P < .010
C = .08

TABLE 7

National Type Representing Way of Life
Pupil Would Most Like to Follow,
By Location and Father's Occupation (Percentages)

High Occupation

National Type[a]	E	F	N	S	O	T	(n)
Castries	19.8	3.8	25.5	49.1	1.9	100.0	(106)
Other Urban	29.7	6.2	14.1	50.0	0.0	100.0	(64)
Rural	28.6	0.0	7.1	64.3	0.0	100.0	(28)

d.f.= 8, X^2= 16.08
P < .050
C = .27

Middle Occupation

National Type[a]	E	F	N	S	O	T	(n)
Castries	32.2	4.9	15.1	47.0	0.7	100.0	(304)
Other Urban	33.6	3.5	13.5	48.3	1.2	100.0	(259)
Rural	32.9	1.6	6.7	58.3	0.4	100.0	(252)

d.f.= 8, X^2= 19.31
P < .025
C = .15

Low Occupation

National Type[a]	E	F	N	S	O	T	(n)
Castries	23.9	5.4	16.3	54.3	0.0	100.0	(92)
Other Urban	26.4	4.9	14.7	52.8	1.2	100.0	(163)
Rural	26.7	0.0	2.3	69.8	1.2	100.0	(86)

d.f.= 8, X^2= 20.28
P < .010
C = .24

Total

National Type[a]	E	F	N	S	O	T	(N)
Castries	27.4	5.1	16.9	49.6	1.0	100.0	(502)
Other Urban	29.0	4.1	14.3	51.2	1.4	100.0	(486)
Rural	30.2	1.0	6.0	62.0	0.8	100.0	(366)

d.f.= 8, X^2= 44.29
P < .001
C = .17

[a] E = Englishman, F = Frenchman, N = North American, S = St. Lucian, O = Other, and T = Total.

TABLE 8

Language Pupil Would Most Like to Speak Well,
By Location and Father's Occupation (Percentages)

High Occupation

Language Preferred	English	French	Patois	Total	(n)
Castries	74.3	23.8	1.9	100.0	(105)
Other Urban	85.9	14.1	0.0	100.0	(64)
Rural	96.4	3.6	0.0	100.0	(28)

d.f.= 4, X^2= 12.88
P < .025
C = .24

Middle Occupation

Language Preferred	English	French	Patois	Total	(n)
Castries	81.0	18.0	1.0	100.0	(300)
Other Urban	89.8	8.6	1.6	100.0	(256)
Rural	91.6	4.8	3.6	100.0	(249)

d.f.= 4, X^2= 30.63
P < .001
C = .19

Low Occupation

Language Preferred	English	French	Patois	Total	(n)
Castries	85.9	14.1	0.0	100.0	(92)
Other Urban	76.7	20.2	3.1	100.0	(163)
Rural	95.3	2.3	2.3	100.0	(86)

d.f.= 4, X^2= 19.56
P < .001
C = .23

Total

Language Preferred	English	French	Patois	Total	(N)
Castries	80.5	18.7	0.8	100.0	(497)
Other Urban	84.7	13.3	2.0	100.0	(483)
Rural	92.2	4.4	3.4	100.0	(363)

d.f.= 4, X^2= 45.68
P < .001
C = .18

TABLE 9

Nationality Pupil Values Most,
By Location and Father's Occupation (Percentages)

High Occupation

Nationality Most Valued	British	West Indian	St. Lucian	Total	(n)
Castries	22.3	31.1	46.6	100.0	(103)
Other Urban	17.5	23.8	58.7	100.0	(63)
Rural	10.7	25.0	64.3	100.0	(28)

d.f. = 4, X^2 = 4.99
NS
C = .16

Middle Occupation

Nationality Most Valued	British	West Indian	St. Lucian	Total	(n)
Castries	19.2	26.0	54.8	100.0	(281)
Other Urban	10.7	17.0	72.3	100.0	(253)
Rural	8.8	13.2	77.9	100.0	(249)

d.f. = 4, X^2 = 36.13
P < .001
C = .21

Low Occupation

Nationality Most Valued	British	West Indian	St. Lucian	Total	(n)
Castries	21.7	22.8	55.4	100.0	(92)
Other Urban	13.0	16.2	70.8	100.0	(154)
Rural	9.3	12.8	77.9	100.0	(86)

d.f. = 4, X^2 = 11.84
P < .025
C = .18

Total

Nationality Most Valued	British	West Indian	St. Lucian	Total	(N)
Castries	20.8	25.7	53.5	100.0	(476)
Other Urban	12.5	18.5	69.0	100.0	(470)
Rural	9.4	14.7	75.9	100.0	(363)

d.f. = 4, X^2 = 55.28
P < .001
C = .20

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